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REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL HEARING ON POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NATIONAL PEACE ACCORD, HELD AT LONDON ON 14 AND 15 JULY 1992

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INTRODUCTION

1. By paragraph 3 of its resolution 46/79 B of 13 December 1991, the General Assembly endorsed recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, 1/ thereby authorizing it to continue mobilizing international action in support of the early establishment of a democratic, non-racial South Africa, inter alia, through missions, hearings, conferences, publicity and other pertinent activities. In accordance with those provisions, the Special Committee co-sponsored the International Hearing on Political Violence in South Africa and the Implementation of the National Peace Accord. The Hearing, convened by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston CR and organized by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, was held at the Inns of Court School of Law, London, on 14 and 15 July 1992.

2. The objectives of the Hearing were:

(a) To receive evidence on political violence in South Africa and the threat it poses to the democratic transformation of South Africa;

(b) To assess the initiatives that have been taken to stop the violence, in particular the National Peace Accord, and to consider the contribution that the international community can make;

(c) To alert international public opinion to the issues at stake.

I. AGENDA

3. The agenda of the Hearing was as follows:

1. Overview of political violence in South Africa.

2. Study of specific cases and trends in the violence, in particular, attacks on commuter trains, the conflict in Natal, political assassinations and the role of hostel-dwellers.

3. Review of efforts undertaken to end the violence, with particular emphasis on the National Peace Accord and the Goldstone Commission.

4. Role of the international community.

II. PARTICIPANTS

4. Some 200 participants attended the Hearing. They included South African experts on human rights, legal matters and dispute resolution, representatives of various countries and intergovernmental organizations, representatives of anti-apartheid movements as well as non-governmental and religious organizations, international legal experts, and representatives of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC).

5. A complete list of participants is contained in annex II to the present report.

III. DOCUMENTATION

6. The British Anti-Apartheid Movement compiled and provided to the participants a number of documents. In addition, participants presented documents, papers, reports and other materials that were circulated at the Hearing. The list of documents is contained in annex III to the present report.

IV. PROCEEDINGS

7. The Hearing was conducted in plenary sessions and hearing sessions. During the hearing sessions, the presentations made by experts and witnesses were followed by questions from the panel of international lawyers. The sessions focused on the following issues:

Hearing session I: Political violence in South Africa: an overview;

Hearing session II: Political violence in South Africa: case studies;

Hearing session III: Efforts to end the political violence, including the National Peace Accord and the Goldstone Commission;

Panel session: The role of the international community.

A. Opening plenary session

8. The Hearing was opened by Mr. Robert Hughes, Member of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Keynote addresses were delivered by Mr. Ibrahim A. Gambari, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid; Reverend Frank Chikane, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, President of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement. The addresses by Mr. Gambari and Mr. Chikane are reproduced in annex I to the present report.

9. Archbishop Huddleston said that he had recently attended the funeral of the victims of the Boipatong massacre, which had profoundly affected him. He stated that Christians had a duty to convey a message of hate for evil and for one of its most perfect expressions, namely apartheid. The South African Government was responsible in law for justice and peace in the country. He expressed the hope that, after the presentation of evidence to the Hearing, a message would be sent to the United Nations Security Council. The upcoming meeting of the Security Council on the question of South Africa would be very significant, and would represent a challenge to the international community to take positive action. Participants in the Hearing therefore had a duty to

persuade the international community that apartheid was still in place and that little had changed in South Africa.

10. The formal opening was followed by a plenary session during which several speakers presented their perspectives on political violence in South Africa and the threat that it posed to the democratic transformation of South Africa. Statements were made by Mr. Sydney Mufamadi, member of the National Executive Committee of ANC and Mr. Benny Alexander, Secretary General of PAC (see annex I). The session was also addressed by Major-General Holomisa, Chairman of the Military Council of the Transkei. He stated that South Africans had a responsibility to convey to all members of the international community the gravity of the crisis in the country. He accused the South African Government of waging a "low-intensity war" and of pursuing the same strategy of terrorism and destabilization as its predecessor, and pointed out that most military and security officers suspected of wrong-doing were still in office. That "total strategy" was no longer confined to the elimination of political activists but was aimed at the entire Black community and was intended to instil fear and despair. The commissions of inquiry set up by the Government had to be replaced by independent commissions headed by reputable international jurists. The Transkei authorities had not signed the National Peace Accord because it was flawed and needed to be revamped.

B. Hearing sessions

11. During the first hearing session, panelists provided participants with an overview of the political violence in South Africa, analysing the character and nature of the violence that had engulfed the country since July 1990. Over the period of two years since that date, there had been more than 6,200 politically related deaths. The violence, which had spread outside Natal at the time of the launching of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), appeared to fluctuate in correlation with the political calendar.

12. Vigilantes had been responsible for 80 per cent of the deaths. While violence had occurred in Natal since 1984, 60 per cent of the deaths which had taken place during the last two years had been in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal area. There had been 49 major massacres since July 1990, in which 1,250 persons had been killed. In many cases, the massacres had originated from hostels. Most victims were ordinary residents of the townships, such as train commuters, while of those perpetrators who had been identified, a great majority were linked to IFP.

13. The security forces had been involved in a number of incidents, which had led to some 350 deaths. They had failed to provide basic protection to township residents. There had also been numerous reports of police collusion with perpetrators of violence, and the authorities had responded very slowly to compelling evidence of unlawful action by members of the security forces, whose bias in favour of IFP had been documented at length. The attitude of the authorities could, at best, be characterized as one of "gross negligence", which had reinforced the sense of impunity prevailing among the security

forces and the distrust in which the latter were held by township residents. There was a lack of political will to deal with the issue, and no action had been taken following the findings of judiciary investigations conducted since 1990. There was also a discrepancy between the pronouncements of high-ranking officials and the unchanged attitudes of policemen and the military on the ground.

14. The second hearing session focused on specific aspects of the violence, namely the role played by hostel-dwellers, attacks on commuter trains, the conflict in Natal and political assassinations. Participants presented evidence on the role of hostel-dwellers and stressed the need to understand fully the complex mechanisms of violence and to stop applying stereotypes or resorting to simplistic explanations. The confrontation between hostel-dwellers and residents of the townships, which had to be analysed in the context of the changing sociology of South African urban areas, was a very complex one, which had propelled previously marginalized communities into the heart of political life. Hostel-dwellers were not all victims or murderers. Two important factors that had led to their involvement in violence were their isolation and alienation from urban communities as well as their rural orientation. There were also broader factors at play such as the ongoing political process, union activities and the abolition of influx-control. There would be no simple solution to those problems. The links existing between police and hostel-dwellers, and in particular the unwillingness of the police to investigate the role of hostels in the violence, should also be noted. A resident of Boipatong presented his testimony on the events of 17 and 20 July 1992 in that township.

15. Attacks on commuter trains, which had started in July 1990, had resulted in more than 200 deaths. The Goldstone Commission had established a committee to look into the attacks. From the evidence presented to the committee, a clear pattern appeared in the nature and execution of the attacks. They were always carried out in the vicinity of hostels by large groups of armed men, during peak hours but not during holiday periods. The attackers, when identified, had been hostel-dwellers. The police had not taken prompt and significant action to stop the attacks, and very few arrests had been made. A witness, who had been attacked and abducted from a train by hostel-dwellers, testified during the session.

16. It was stressed that the conflict in Natal was an orchestrated conflict, not based on ethnic rivalry. The first regional dispute resolution committee had been set up in Natal, but its task was enormous and its resources few. There was little cooperation from the police and the judicial system to implement the National Peace Accord in that province.

17. A former member of the Civil Cooperation Bureau, Mr. Dirk Coetzee, presented his testimony on political assassinations and hit-squads. He stated that hit-squads, created by the South African authorities in the 1970s, were still active. In fact, their activities had increased over the past few years. Most of their victims had been affiliated with ANC, PAC or the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Several assassination attempts had been carried out against Mr. Coetzee himself, who had become a member of ANC.

18. The third hearing session focused on efforts to end the political violence, and particularly on the National Peace Accord and the Goldstone Commission. Participants underlined that, while those efforts were commendable, a severe lack of resources had prevented them from having an effective impact. It was important that the Goldstone Commission be granted the means to create a unit of independent investigators instead of having to rely, as it did until now, on police investigators. A witness protection programme should also be established, as witnesses were reluctant to come forward, for fear of reprisals. The Commission had made some valuable recommendations, but many of them, such as the total ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons and the fencing of hostels, had not been implemented. In some cases, the Commission's findings had lacked specificity and their ambiguity had allowed the Government to interpret them to its advantage.

19. Similarly, a lack of enforcement tools and of basic resources prevented the National Peace Accord from being effective. There had been too little publicity and information on the Accord, and the police did not cooperate towards its implementation. Therefore, there was a need to develop new monitoring mechanisms, whether entirely national or with international components.

20. The next panel session dealt with the role that the international community could play in helping to end the violence in South Africa. Speakers expressed concern at the demobilizing effect which the changes that had taken place so far in South Africa had had on the international community. Those changes had generated a premature euphoria, which in turn had led to a slackening in the previous activities aimed at facilitating the eradication of apartheid. The Boipatong massacre, however, had had a sobering effect on the international community, which had come to realize that much remained to be done. The international community, whether at the level of intergovernmental organizations or of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), had a duty to continue disseminating information on apartheid and exerting pressure on the South African authorities, while promoting the negotiating process as the surest avenue to a peaceful, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

21. Governments had to be reminded that they should not resume normal relations with South Africa until an interim government was in place. In the meantime, NGOs would continue to run campaigns to put pressure on their respective Governments in that regard and to convince them to denounce the role of the South African authorities in the violence. They would also endeavour to change existing misconceptions about "Black-on-Black violence".

22. The changing system of international relations and the new emphasis placed on the Security Council as an instrument of peace represented an opportunity for the international community, and the United Nations in particular to devise new ways to assist the political process. Many speakers expressed the hope that the Security Council would decide on a meaningful involvement of the United Nations in the monitoring of the violence in South Africa, cautioning however that that new role should be very carefully conceived and accurately defined.

C. Closing session

23. At the closing session, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and Reverend Frank Chikane thanked the organizers of the Hearing and the participants. They expressed the hope that they had conveyed to the international community the seriousness of the situation in South Africa and the urgency of acting to eradicate apartheid completely.
Archbishop Huddleston then read out the following concluding statement, which stands in his name: 2/

"This International Hearing on Political Violence in South Africa has taken place at a most decisive moment in history - we are at a turning-point in the efforts of the people of South Africa and the international community to transform South Africa from an apartheid State to a democratic and non-racial society.

"...

"The International Hearing has served as a unique opportunity for the international community to learn the truth about political violence from a diverse range of experts and witnesses from South Africa as well as from written memoranda, reports and other documentation.

"There is a common understanding that the root cause of the violence in South Africa is the system of apartheid and that it will only be the creation of a new united, non-racial and democratic South Africa that will ensure a climate in which peace can flourish and the culture of violence can be destroyed.

"It is self-evident that political violence has now reached such levels that it seriously threatens the prospects for the democratic transformation of South Africa. It has led to the breakdown of the negotiating process taking place through the Convention for a Democratic South Africa and is of such a character that it would certainly prevent democratic elections taking place in many parts of South Africa.

"The International Hearing provided an opportunity to identify the key issues which need to be addressed so that a climate can be created in which bona fide negotiations can take place as envisaged in the United Nations Declaration on South Africa. The most important of these issues are:

"(a) The continued programme of covert operations being undertaken by the South African regime;

"(b) The existence of special units, including foreign forces, such as Koevoet and Battalion 32, which are directly linked to the promotion and instigation of violence;

"(c) The lack of confidence by the Black majority in the police and security forces which are perceived as an instrument of repression against those seeking democratic change;

"(d) The failure to investigate thoroughly acts of political violence and to bring prosecutions against those involved including the failure to provide protection of witnesses;

"(e) The cover-up of cases in which members of the security forces are involved in instigating and fomenting political violence;

"(f) The transformation of many single-sex hostels into bases from which attacks are carried out;

"(g) The failure to introduce effective controls to ban the carrying of dangerous weapons and the refusal by the police to implement existing controls.

"The primary responsibility for the political violence must rest with the South African regime since it has failed to take effective measures to end it.

"The National Peace Accord and the Goldstone Commission were envisaged as mechanisms by which these issues could be addressed, yet they have been effectively subverted by the South African regime. Indeed the South African regime has ignored many of the recommendations of the Goldstone Commission.

"Evidence presented to the International Hearing confirmed that the objectives of the National Peace Accord have not been achieved and therefore special initiatives are now required, including the involvement of the international community, in order to achieve an end to political violence.

"The United Nations, together with other appropriate intergovernmental bodies including the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and the European Community, are already seized of this issue.

"Decisive action is now required. There are three immediate and urgent challenges:

"Firstly, the international community must intervene, through the establishment of appropriate mechanisms, to ensure not only the effective monitoring of political violence which would require wide investigative and other powers, but also the means to end the violence;

"Secondly, the international community must apply the maximum possible pressure onto the South African regime so that it takes effective steps to stop the violence on the basis of the positions set out by the liberation movements as well as the religious bodies, trade unions and other democratic organizations;

"Thirdly, in order to prevent the South African regime from continuing to frustrate the process to establish a new democratic order, the international community must participate fully in the process, as provided for in the United Nations Declaration on South Africa.

"There can be no prospect of bona fide negotiations taking place as envisaged in the United Nations Declaration on South Africa unless the international community now takes such action."

Notes

1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 22 (A/46/22).

2/ A/46/946-S/24291.

Annex I

A. KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY MR. IBRAHIM A. GAMBARI (NIGERIA), CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

I wish to thank the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, under the able leadership of Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, for organizing this Hearing in cooperation with the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid. I wish also to thank you all for responding so enthusiastically to the invitation to be part of this Hearing, on what is turning out to be a very disturbing trend in the ongoing political developments in South Africa.

This Hearing on Political Violence in South Africa is taking place at a time when the political situation is unquestionably fluid. This is a moment of great anxieties and uncertainties for South Africans: a tense moment which is poised to erode the broadly acknowledged progress made so far towards a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Political violence is not new to South Africa. One needs only look back to recall the massacres in Sharpeville, Soweto, Utinhage and Langa. To these infamous memories, we may now add Boipatong. What is disturbing about the ongoing violence, is that not only are increasing numbers of innocent citizens dying, on the average of 15 a day, but also the escalation of the violence in the face of the repeal of key apartheid legislation, in the midst of the ongoing negotiations, and most ironically against the grain of all existing principles and the code of conduct contained in the National Peace Accord of 14 September 1991.

Perhaps, what is most disturbing about the prevailing violence is the impetus and viciousness with which it is carried out. The fact that the violence has gone unchecked by the South African Government adds to the compounding of the already tense atmosphere in South Africa.

One cannot gloss over the timing and growing consistency of the political violence that is raging in South Africa. Against the moral outcry and general concern expressed globally over the deteriorating situation; against the revulsion and denunciations of Black political organizations in that country, whose members are being hacked down daily, the mindless killing of innocent citizens continues, at a time which ought to be filled with hope, anticipation and goodwill for the realization of a new South Africa.

The timing of the Boipatong massacre of 17 June, and indeed, the other wanton killings since the commencement of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) lend credence to allegations that the violence is being orchestrated and is aimed at disrupting ongoing efforts to foster a peaceful political process in South Africa. Recent reports, variously published by international organizations, such as Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists, support the contention of organizations inside South Africa that documented evidence exists to show the failure by the

South African police to protect residents of townships. Such evidence also points to the involvement of some members of the police force in perpetrating acts of violence. These facts tend to confirm the existence of a sinister machination and efforts to use a "third force" to undermine progress and political stability in South Africa.

But who and what is behind the raging violence in South Africa? The United Nations Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, rightly observed in his Soweto Day statement, "violence serves no useful political end and most certainly is not conducive to peace and stability". If so, violence must be deliberately employed to serve sinister motives aimed at stultifying the goal of realizing a new and non-racial South Africa. Unfortunately, some citizens of South Africa, in allegiance to their organizations, have unwittingly allowed themselves to be exploited as tools of violence. The South African Government and its representatives on their part have been equally culpable - if not by commission, then by acts of omission.

One needs only to recall the provisions of the National Peace Accord to appreciate the various lapses of responsibility that have occurred. Chapter II of the Peace Accord established a code of conduct for political parties and organizations, which among other things stipulated that no political party or organization or any official or representative of any such party shall:

(a) Kill, injure, apply violence to, intimidate or threaten any other person in connection with that persons's political beliefs, words, writings or actions;

(b) Interfere with, obstruct or threaten, any other person or group travelling to or from or intending to attend any gathering for political purposes;

(c) Seek to compel, by force or threat of force any person to join any party or organizations, attend any meeting, make any contribution, resign from any post or office, boycott any occasion or commercial activity or withhold his or her labour or fail to perform a lawful obligation.

Certain responsibilities also devolve on the Government particularly the security forces. A few among these are worthy of recall. The National Peace Accord stipulates that:

(a) The police shall endeavour to protect the people of South Africa from all criminal acts and shall do so in a rigorously non-partisan fashion, regardless of the political belief and affiliation, race, religion, gender or ethnic origin of the perpetrators or victims of such acts;

(b) The police shall endeavour to prevent crimes and shall attempt to arrest and investigate all those reasonably suspected of committing crimes and shall take the necessary steps to facilitate the judicial process;

(c) The police shall be guided by a belief that they are accountable to society in rendering their policing services and shall therefore conduct themselves so as to secure and retain the respect and approval of the public;

(d) The police, as law enforcement officers, shall expect a higher standard of conduct from their members in the execution of their duties than they expect from others, and in pursuance hereof, supports prompt and efficient investigation and prosecution of their own members alleged to have acted unlawfully and shall commit themselves to continue the proper training and retraining of their own members in line with the objectives of professional policing and the principles set out in the Accord.

Despite these clearly enunciated responsibilities on the part of society and the Government, today we confront circumstances of violence that threaten to lead to absolute breakdown of law and order. There is also no question that many years of economic, social and political inequalities have contributed to the prevailing atmosphere of political intolerance and consequently violence. Yet such limitations must not be allowed to become grounds for exacerbating political violence.

In this context what is most disconcerting is the gross negligence of the South African authorities and the complicity of the security forces in the appalling violence. The maintenance of law and order that guarantees elementary security to all members of the society is a primary duty that no Government can abdicate. But ironically, we note, and this is well documented in the recent report of Amnesty International, that the South African Government has shirked its responsibilities in this respect. The report not only denounces the repeated failure by the South African police to respond promptly, to "calls of assistance and intervention" as stipulated in the National Peace Accord, but underlined the "enormity of the gap between the intentions and pronouncements by officials, on one hand, and the conduct on the ground of the security forces on the other". This point of view is re-echoed by the Goldstone Commission, which criticized Government's failure to take sufficiently firm steps to prevent criminal conduct by members of the security forces and punish the perpetrators.

What we confront in South Africa today is an orchestrated attempt to undermine the peaceful negotiation process, which has so far yielded tangible results. Unfortunately, Blacks in South Africa, who are predominantly the victims of this wave of violence, have unwittingly allowed themselves to become instruments of sinister forces opposed to democracy. Those who characterize the ongoing violence as "Black-on-Black violence" base their contention on the fact that the victims in every instance, just like the assailants are Black. None the less, we are painfully aware of the "hands behind the scene" - the hands of Government's agents.

Facts and figures speak volumes. Recent figures alone show that in March there were 437 deaths from political violence, in April 356, and in May 296. June figures are equally high! These lives lost in senseless killings must give us all cause for utmost concern. Estimates now put deaths from political

violence in South Africa at an average of 15 a day. These figures are unacceptable - for they constitute an outrage to the conscience of people of goodwill. Indeed, were such daily deaths attributable to a virus, the numbers alone would have been enough to warrant the declaration of a medical state of emergency to contain the viral pandemic. Why then, does it seem that the international community is indifferent to this carnage going on in South Africa, when it ought to be expressing its moral outrage?

This Hearing is propitious in that it will help us to assess the situation in South Africa and make tangible recommendations as to how to end the prevailing violence. I am cognizant that there are other measures afoot around the world to assist in this process. But these do not belie what is today the reality: that the peace process in South Africa has been stalled. Those whose goal it was to achieve this dubious objective may gloat at their seeming success - but I put it to you all, that this "victory" will be vacuous if South Africans and the international community work in concert to bring it to an end. If we must end the ongoing carnage, South Africans, both within and outside the Government must show greater commitment to peace. And all efforts must be harnessed in creating the means and the environment to curb the senseless violence raging in South Africa.

I must, however, reiterate what I said at the beginning - that the South African Government has the ultimate responsibility to ensure the security of the people and the State. There can be no question that, if it had not been willing to exploit the violence to its own political advantage, the violence would have long abated.

In closing, I wish to note, with great satisfaction, that, in response to the call by the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations Security Council will meet tomorrow to discuss the South African question. Hopefully, after the Council's meeting, an effective United Nations presence in South Africa will be agreed upon by all sides in South Africa aimed at helping to find a prompt and lasting solution to the problem of violence. We must all hope that the heightened concern by the United Nations and its possible involvement will contribute significantly to the general effort of the international community such as this important Hearing to end the violence and to resuscitate the negotiation process to end apartheid peacefully.

We must acknowledge, however, that while the international community has an obligation to assist in containing the violence in that country, South Africans themselves must show a collective resolve and good faith. More importantly, they must all abide by the covenant which they entered freely by signing the National Peace Accord on 14 September 1991.

Assuming that they have all forgotten, let me remind them that they did resolve collectively then that:

> "We the signatories accordingly solemnly bind ourselves to this Accord and shall ensure as far as humanly possible that all our members and supporters will comply with the provisions of this Accord and respect its

underlying rights and values and we, the Government signatories undertake to pursue the objectives of this Accord and seek to give effect to its provisions by way of the legislative, executive and budgeting procedures to which we have access."

Finally, I wish to emphasize that peace is indivisible and that a threat to peace anywhere should be considered as a threat to peace everywhere. Therefore, the loss of lives in the Black townships of South Africa is no less deserving of world attention as those in Sarajevo. The challenge before the international community in general and all the people of South Africa in particular is to work assiduously for the return of true and lasting peace in that country.

B. KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY THE REV. FRANK CHIKANE, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

I would like to express our thanks to the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, particularly to Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, for organizing this event on political violence in South Africa with an intention of assisting to resolve this crisis. I would like to also thank the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid for sponsoring and supporting this important Hearing.

South Africa is part and parcel of the world. It is part of what is often called a global village and, as such, whatever happens there affects the international community equally. As long as one part of this globe has no peace, there will be no peace in the world. Your interest therefore in our plight in South Africa is welcome and appreciated. This event has the potential of giving our people in South Africa hope that a solution will be produced soon to end the violence. There is a lot of feeling of hopelessness of people who are victims of circumstances because of this senseless violence.

Our country has never known peace since 1652 and more so since the imposition of the apartheid system in 1948. But the 1980s and 1990s witnessed the worst violence ever. This violence is related, first, to the security force suppression of the people's resistance to the apartheid system. And lately it is part, and that is what I will share with you this morning, part of the strategy of the Government of destabilization and weakening of opposing parties in the negotiation process.

Following the 2 February 1990 announcement of the de Klerk Government to unban the liberation movements and to enter into negotiations, we warned that the violence which was escalating then formed a serious threat and obstacle to the negotiation process. Once negotiations had started in one form or another, we warned again that the violence threatened the process itself.

Between 2 February 1990 and 1 October 1991 church leaders of the South African Council of Churches met Mr. de Klerk three times. And in the these meetings preliminary evidence of allegations of security force involvement in

the violence was presented to him. We made him aware of the general loss of confidence in the security forces by the majority of South Africans.

As a result of this violence, the African National Congress (ANC) gave the Government an ultimatum to act on certain aspects of this violence before 9 May 1991, failing which there would be no talks between the Government and ANC. This crisis called on church leaders to intervene to get the negotiation process back on track. Following this intervention a broad forum of churches and business was constituted to facilitate the process which led to the National Peace Accord.

The National Peace Accord and various other factors opened the way for a possibility of a negotiated settlement in South Africa. But the violence continued to threaten this process. As a result, church leaders of the South African Council of Churches convened an emergency summit of leaders of affected areas to strategize jointly on how to end the violence. A statement in this regard was adopted leading to two follow-up working groups on matters which dealt with international monitoring and involvement of the international community and general implementation strategies on decisions of leaders. I will not bore you with the details. The three documents could be made available for your study.

In the same breath, church leaders also requested a meeting with Mr. de Klerk to impress on him once more about the seriousness and dangers of the violence and presented to him concrete proposals on how this violence can be ended. A detailed memorandum was presented to him and it has been put as part of the package for this Hearing. Unfortunately since 22 May 1992 when we met Mr. de Klerk, there has not been a response to that memorandum.

This International Hearing meets at a time when we are faced with the worst crisis ever in the country. There is a deadlock at CODESA regarding constitutional negotiations and related matters of the process of negotiations. Many would ask what the nature of the deadlock is. And I would summarize it by saying that the minority Government understandably fears democracy: that if democracy took its course they would lose power and their intention of entering into negotiation process was not to lose power but to be part of that control of power. And that is understandable when it comes to people who are in the minority. But unfortunately democracy requires that the people of the country make the choices that they would want to have. The key question that is facing South Africa today is whether the people of South Africa participate in the production of a constitution for that country, or some group that is not elected produces a constitution and imposes it on the people. And that to me is the element of the deadlock.

But we are not only faced with a deadlock, we are faced with a call for mass action to force the apartheid regime out of power or to cause it to remove all constraints to the process of transition to democracy. This has been undertaken because of the deadlock. People who are voteless and can not follow ordinary processes of elections and deciding on the future of the country resort to methods that they believe are the best at a particular given time. And this has been the method that has been resorted to.

There is also, on the other hand, and that is the third element of this crisis, a build-up since 16 June 1992 of a violent response of forces of darkness to mass action. In fact the prophets of doom want to prove and fulfil their prophecy - mass action will cause violence. And so when people undertake it, then forces of darkness come and murder people so that the world can believe that indeed it causes violence. A close examination of the violence around 16 June and the days after shows that in fact the violence came from outside people rather than people who were themselves involved.

That action by forces of darkness has resulted in the Boipatong massacre and various other incidents of brutal killings of innocent civilians in the country.

The fourth element is that all this had led to the breakdown in the negotiation process. CODESA has been put aside and there have been exchanges of memoranda and a moratorium has been declared on exchanges of memoranda as well. And so we are faced with the worst crisi ever.

To put this violence in perspective, I have chosen to deal rather with the historical sources of this violence in South Africa, focusing specifically on the role of the apartheid regime in this violence. I am doing this so that all those who will present evidence in the Hearing of specific activity and involvement of one group or another in the violence will have the context within which they present it. I have chosen rather to deal with the Government and some would ask why have I chosen to do so. There are two reasons. One is that the rest of the other complexities of the violence will be dealt with during this Hearing and I wish you all the luck in that exercise. But the second and the main reason is that, whilst church leaders are aware of the complex nature of this violence and the fact that there are other parties implicated in this regard, we believe that the South African Government is primarily responsible for the violence. Our conclusion is based on the following.

Firstly, it is the historical involvement of the South African Government in violence itself. All of us know that the regime was structured in such a way that it institutionally violated the rights of the majority of South Africans. The racist apartheid Government and the system was violently imposed on the people causing untold harm, misery and death to many of our people over many years.

To suppress the people's resistance they used naked force, including detention without trial, torture and long-term imprisonment of opponents of apartheid. This naked violence of the regime started a spiral of violence in the form of counter-violence and more violence.

It is now history that the Government considered the people's resistance as part of a total onslaught against the White minority and thus developed an elaborate strategy called "total strategy" against what was perceived as a "total onslaught" against it. This total strategy meant total war against all those opposed to the regime, both inside and outside the country. This

involved mass detentions, repressive security legislation, restrictions on the press, etc. It involved getting engaged in covert operations involving assassinations, special forces, murder squads and hit squads. And more revelations of commissions or evidence in commissions have shown that this was the way in which the Government operated. The only way the revelations take me shows beyond doubt that in fact the Government was involved at the highest level.

But this violence of apartheid has created a spirit of intolerance amongst the people of South Africa. Apartheid was intolerant and therefore people learned to be intolerant. People learned to be violent as a way of resolving their problems. Because of this intolerance and the resort to violence as a means of solving problems, we have created a culture of violence in the country. A culture of intolerance that South Africa will suffer under for a long, long time. The violence therefore as designed, was such that it would then appear in terms of covert designs and operations to be "Black-on-Black" violence, or look like it is "Black-on-Black" violence.

The revelations have made it unnecessary for me to sing the song I have been singing up to July last year. This is not just tribal violence. This is not just "Black-on-Black" violence. This is a well-designed form of violence that has political intentions. The violence in the country has taken a momentum of its own and is becoming self-perpetuating.

Whilst those who triggered it may look innocent, they are responsible for that spiral of violence we are facing. The second reason why we believe that the Government must take responsibility is the Government's failure to cap the violence. That Government was very efficient in dealing with us. I am one of those people who knew how effective they were. There was no time when we held a meeting and did not expect that they would know about it. There was no time when we planned peaceful activity, when we did not expect that they would know about it and interfere with it. They have been effective in pre-empting even peaceful protest which we tried to plan in a way they would not know. They arrested many of our people and the same effective security force has suddenly lost its capacity to deal with the type of violence we are facing in the country.

We argue that they have no intention to stop the violence and that the violence is a continuation of the covert operations which are part of security forces and therefore we have no ability, no capacity to end that violence.

The third reason is that this Government has a responsibility as a government. We believe that it is not a legitimate Government. But it is a legal authority. It has responsibility for the security forces. No one outside the Government can stop the violence except a legal authority with security forces. And unless there is an alternative peace-keeping force, or an alternative form of security force, all specialized and trained for that purpose, we are unlikely to end the violence.

The Government cannot argue for sovereignty of State and that they are the legal authority and pass the responsibility for ending violence to other people.

I would like to summarize by saying that we believe that there are other groups that are involved in violence. And the evidence will indicate in that direction. But we believe that the Government is primarily responsible and unless the Government takes responsibility to end the violence no one outside the Government can stop it. And unless we gain access to their covert operations no one will be able to stop the violence in the country.

And so the ball is right in the court of the apartheid regime and we have to make sure that all South Africans and the international community constrain the Government in South Africa, in the interim, to stop the violence until such time as interim mechanisms take responsibility for the security forces.

Secondly, I would like to submit to you, which submission I have made to our conference last week of the South African Council of Churches, that the Government has had a twofold strategy. The first part of the strategy was a strategy of destabilizing those they negotiate with, whilst negotiating with it. Saving which they would resort to what others have called "plan B". And this plan B would mean that, in the process of negotiations and giving credibility to the South African Government, entering into international relations would give the Government such an image that anybody who questioned their bona fides would lose the propaganda war. And having lost the propaganda war suppressions of those people would be justified. I would like to ask you to be vigilant as you deal with this violence during these two days.

C. STATEMENT BY MR. SYDNEY MUFAMADI, AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA

This hearing gives us the welcome opportunity to share with you our thoughts on the question of violence which has generated so much topicality inside and beyond the borders of South Africa. The African National Congress (ANC) proceeds from the basic assumption that all of us gathered here today have, over a long period of time, been seized with the question of looking for ways and means by which to expedite the process of transforming South Africa into a zone of freedom, peace and social progress. We therefore take it as given that the object of this Hearing is to determine with precision the resources which need to be mobilized and deployed in order to overcome the problem of violence, a problem which has come to pose perhaps the biggest single impediment to the process of transforming South Africa into a non-racial democracy.

In his second interim report, the Chairman of the Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation, Justice Richard Goldstone, came to a determination that, and I quote: "The causes of violence are many and complicated". He elected to list them in historical sequence. Topmost on the list were "the consequences of 3 centuries of racial discrimination, and over 40 years of an extreme form of racial and economic dislocation in consequence of the policy of apartheid".

If we were all to proceed from that premise, as ANC certainly does, then the conclusion becomes inescapable that the violence we see raging in our country has everything to do with the old system's refusal to yield place to the new. One does not have to dig too deep into the archives to make the point that our people always held themselves in readiness to defy the many odds heavily laid against them, in a daring effort to liberate themselves from a system which sought to subjugate them to perpetual servitude. Having drawn a line between themselves and the regime, our people have always seen the unity of the oppressed as a sine qua non of their struggle for national liberation.

In this regard, the formation of the United Democratic Front in September 1983 was seen as watershed development. It was a development which at once gave organizational expression to the unity of our people, and gave them the greater capacity to gather their resources and energies to launch an all-out offensive against the regime. On 29 October of the same year, there were clashes between the students of the University of Zululand and supporters of Inkatha. In a speech to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, on the 2 November 1983, the following charge was made:

> "I know the background to the formation of the Congress of South African Students. It was formed as a front organization for the ANC's mission in exile".

Those words were not uttered by a member of the special branch. On the contrary, they came from a man who deplores violence in general, Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi. The words were intended to justify the violence of Inkatha against other Blacks who he charged were "people from other parts of the country, with different ethnic origins, who do nothing about the terrible circumstances in the places they come from".

We recall these instances in order to make the point that the current wave of violence has its origins in Natal, as a reaction to the growing strength of the democratic movement. The fact that the intensity of this violence increased in direct proportion to the growing strength of the democratic movement explains its central purpose. Not only do we know that the United Worker's Union of South Africa (UWUSA) was formed by Inkatha as a counter-balance to COSATU, but also it has since come to light that the Department of Military Intelligence and the South African police saw UWUSA as an important weapon to be used against the growing tide of militancy which was in evidence in our country. The same violence, which for some time was confined to the province of Natal, was exported to the Transvaal after the unbanning of ANC and other political organizations. It has since become generalized, and all the four provinces of our country are enveloped in it. If one thing is clear, it is the fact that we are not talking here about a spontaneous conflict between political parties. Rather, we are talking, as we have said before, about violence which cannot but originate from within the system.

Following the release of our leaders and the unbanning of our movement, the world and preeminently our people glimpsed a path of negotiation to a more worthy future. When we went to Pretoria on 6 August 1990, we were not under pressure to suspend the armed struggle. Suspension of the armed struggle and activities related thereto was a policy decision we took in the interest of enhancing a climate necessary and conducive to the success of the negotiations process. The ink on the paper on which the Pretoria Minute was written had hardly dried up when the regime started to interpret related activities as meaning or including mass action. They deliberately distorted its meaning for purposes of justifying their attempt to emasculate one of our people's most important civil liberties, the entitlement to sue for a rapid process of democratization and participation.

The same charges and sentiments were expressed by the regime in 1992, and were echoed in its memorandum to the president of ANC, Comrade Nelson Mandela, after we took a decision to suspend CODESA and all bilateral contact with the regime. Today, the air is replete with allegations and counter-allegations as to who bears ultimate responsibility for the violence in our country.

Evidence which has come before the courts and various judicial and commissions of inquiry has pointed to the involvement of elements from the regime's security apparatus in the fomenting and in some cases the actual perpetration of violence. Evidence abounds to show that the security forces cannot be exonerated. In any case, they were trained to carry out acts of political violence in the belief that they were dealing with people and organizations who pose a threat to State security. This explains why we continue to see such forms of violence as assassinations of members and activists in the democratic movement. In more recent times, squatter camps have been targeted for attacks. It is precisely because of their condition of extreme deprivation that people in the squatter camps turned to be militantly in favour of democratic change. When a policeman is deployed to attend to people who have taken to the streets to demonstrate their disgust at the regime's apparent stalling of the process of democratization, he relates to that demonstration from the point of view of the political motivation that was given to him over the years. He sees the demonstration as a subversive act warranting suppression. This is the frame of mind which accounts for the violent manner in which members of the South African police have handled and continue to handle popular manifestations.

The question which arises, therefore, is whether or not Mr. de Klerk is responsible for the violence we are talking about. It is difficult for us to conceive of a situation where Mr. de Klerk would have said in a meeting, and instructed members of the security forces, to continue the campaign of internal destabilization. However, this does not alter the fact that as State President, he is obliged to ensure the protection of all the people of South Africa, including those who correctly think that his Government is illegitimate. He does not appear to have come to this particular determination, for how else can one explain the fact that his attorney generals have failed to prosecute many IFP and security force members who were identified in several instances as being criminally culpable.

In our view, if implemented, the recommendations which Justice Goldstone made when he tabled his second interim report could lead to a substantial reduction of the root causes of violence. We cannot but draw only one inference from Mr. de Klerk's apparent reluctance to heed those recommendations. His Government objectively benefits from the continuing violence.

We wish to say, in conclusion, that the continuing violence and the regime's duplicity are some of the factors which compelled ANC and its allies to break off negotiations which were taking place within the framework of CODESA. We then put forward demands which we insisted must be met as a prelude to the resumption of negotiations. Our programme of rolling mass action, which is unfolding, is a letter of invitation to the regime to negotiate in good faith. We therefore hope that this Hearing will conclude by identifying other levers of pressure to be exerted with that focus in mind, for the challenge we all face is not to stand aside. We are all called upon to contribute to the necessary pressure which demands change while there is still time to bring it about by peaceful means.

D. STATEMENT BY MR. BENNY ALEXANDER, PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA

On behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed masses of Azania it represents, we wish to thank the organizers of this International Hearing whose genuine concern and efficient administration made this timely occasion possible.

The euphoria created by the seemingly wonderful reformist posturing of Mr. F. W. de Klerk has made way for sobering concerns and serious questions of his real motives by the international community. The euphoria was created by the unbanning of PAC, ANC and other organizations and the repeal of certain laws. Mr. de Klerk was judged at face value and applauded. He received red-carpet treatment wherever he went.

My submission is that Mr. de Klerk never had a change of heart from the beginning. He was forced against his will to adopt a reformist posture by the twin pressures of heightened internal resistance and the international isolation campaign which included punitive economic sanctions. In short, the reforms were not a result of democratic goodwill but because the regime had to embark on it to get itself out of isolation.

The International Hearing on violence in occupied Azania is necessary because, contrary to the belief of some Governments, the relaxation of pressures has not helped the suffering oppressed masses but played into the hands of a murderous regime. Mr. de Klerk simultaneously announced reforms and unleashed an unprecedented wave of violence: 7,000 people have died since 2 February 1990. According to a news conference held by Maj. Gen. L. C. A. Pruis on 9 July, the South African security forces expect violence to escalate over the next six months. Since 1984, 30,000 Africans in the region became the victims of the brutal racist regime.

My people are being killed on a daily basis in significant numbers. I want to stress one point, the Boipatong incident is but one in a daily catalogue of murders for political reasons perpetrated by the racist regime.

PAC is the architect of the call for international involvement to resolve the crisis in Azania. The regime continues to oppose meaningful and effective international involvement on the grounds that international involvement will be interfering in the affairs of a sovereign State or alternatively undermine the sovereignty of the State. They base their sovereignty on the relationships with various countries flowing from certain international obligations.

The naked truth is, however, that the indigenous African people of Azania were colonized and have not regained their land and national sovereignty as at the date of this meeting. So-called claims of a sovereign State under these circumstances are feeble attempts to mutilate and take the history of our country and to manipulate international law in the most scandalous and gigantic colonial fraud of the twentieth century. The only time Azania will be an independent and sovereign State will be when the vast dispossessed, indigenous African majority, whose country was colonized, regain control of their inalienable right to self-determination.

PAC and the oppressed African masses hereby repeat their invitation to the international community to send an international commission to South Africa because of the following reasons.

The violence is ongoing, inhuman, disruptive and escalating with no end in sight. I have earlier quoted a statement of only a few days ago by the security forces in which they predict an escalation of violence. They do not predict any curbing of the violence through their efforts.

The National Peace Accord has failed to define or curb the violence and cannot be relied upon to end the violence. The National Peace Committee has played all its cards and its members are sitting with their hands in their hair. It is significant that those who are implicating each other in the violence are both signatories to the Accord and agents of its implementation. These are the people who have failed. The Accord fails to define the violence and to identify its manifestations. Any structure established must be based on the definition and manifestation of the violence in order to be informed of its relevant required structural and functional orientation. The violence manifests itself primarily through highly professional, well-financed, well-armed, hired hit men who appear and disappear in seconds. The Goldstone Commission operations under the National Peace Accord functions under the spurious and fallacious assumption that ordinary people are involved in the violence and can be summonsed to account for their deeds. Hence, its ad nauseam call for Mr. de Klerk's men to be identified by name and address and to be summonsed for their deeds and, in the absence of these factors, Mr. de Klerk is not to blame for the violence. It is precisely because of these fatal structural shortcomings that PAC had no problem in predicting that the Accord would fail, and without any smugness, may I point out that only the

analysis and logical predictions of PAC have proved correct in the dynamics of violence in Azania. For this reason, I want this Hearing to listen carefully to what I have to say.

The South African regime and its agencies, which are signatories to the Peace Accord, are implicated in the violence, in part by their own operating agents, like the Black Cat gang which confessed to training to murder our people. Besides this, the regime failed to take meaningful steps to end the violence and, in a blatant attempt to undermine the possible involvement of the United Nations to end the violence, it propped up the Goldstone Commission with a few foreign faces. Besides the fact that the foreign faces in the said Commission represent an acknowledgement of the need for international involvement, their recruitment into failed and failing strategies leaves much to be desired. We have no choice but to call on the Security Council to condemn the South African Government for its involvement in the violence.

Through its numerous resolutions and declarations in support of our liberation struggle and movements, the United Nations is seized with the matter of our freedom and, due to the inhuman acts perpetrated against us, this is the most appropriate forum to assist in resolving the problem of violence in our country. The main aim of the violence is to destabilize the United Nations-recognized liberation movements and to reduce the African population numerically.

As I am speaking now, the problem is already internationalized through the involvement of foreign mercenary forces like Buffalo Battalion 32 comprising Angolan bandits and Koevoet, comprising Namibian bandits turned mercenaries. I am calling on all distinguished persons present here today to ask themselves why any Government would want to keep battalions of foreign mercenaries and spend 5 million rand for covert operations when it is not facing any foreign threat from outside and when its masses from inside are ready to address the political problems democratically through the elections of a Constituent Assembly. Foreign mercenaries internationalize the problem: the international agencies must internationalize the solution. The United Nations should supervise the disbanding and expulsion of foreign mercenaries and investigate the true nature of the violence with a view to identifying the perpetrators and, together with Azanians, work out solutions which will work. PAC is ready to collaborate fully with such a commission on the violence. The anti-apartheid movements have a role to play in this regard. The anti-apartheid movements are confused because they are sectarian and thereby add to the arrogance and intolerance and divisions in our country. No wonder that wherever I go, I find you confused on the issue of the isolation campaign and sanctions.

The lifting of sections of the isolation campaign against South Africa by sections of the international community was premature. Selective mandatory and voluntary sanctions should be strengthened and a moratorium on sports contacts should be introduced until peace and democracy have been introduced through the electoral process. PAC will continue to call on the support groups to oppose the international participation in sports of South Africa.

In many parts of our country, oppressed persons cannot prepare properly for sporting events due to danger arising from the violence. How can we play sports together on Sunday and shoot each other on Monday? There can be no normal sports in an abnormal society. Since the violence is political, its solution should have a political content. To this end, the Security Council should empower the United Nations Secretary-General to identify a neutral venue and representatives of the United Nations urgently to convene, chair, verify, supervise and mediate the discussions of and the election for a Constituent Assembly.

Annex II

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

I. UNITED NATIONS

A. Special Committee against Apartheid

1. Member States

H.E. Mr. Ibrahim A. Gambari (Nigeria), Chairman

H.E. Mr. Viktor Batiouk (Ukraine), Vice-Chairman

Mr. Garaudy Laguerre (Haiti)

Mr. Abdullahi Omaki (Nigeria)

2. Observers

(a) African National Congress of South Africa

Mr. Sydney Mufamadi

Mr. Mendi Msimang

(b) Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

Mr. Benny Alexander

Mr. Dabi Khumalo

Mr. Joe Moabi

B. Other United Nations bodies and specialized agencies

Ms. A. Cassam, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Mrs. Neela Ghai, Centre for Human Rights

Mr. Julian de Wette, United Nations Information Centre, London

II. GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES AND PARLIAMENTARIANS

A. Governments

Canada: Mr. Ian MacVay

China: Mr. Zhang

Denmark: Mr. Finn Normann Christensen

Ethiopia: Mr. Musa Elmi Ali

Guyana: Mr. Orin Alexander

India: Mr. Rinzine Wangdi

Namibia: Mr. Paul Kalenga

Netherlands: Mr. Onno Kervers

Nigeria: Mr. Adefuye

Mr. M. U. Mohammed

Norway: Mr. John Bech

Portugal: Mrs. Anna Gomez

Senegal: H.E. Mr. Sy

Trinidad and Tobago: Mr. Calvin Smith

United Republic of Tanzania: H.E. Mr. Ali Mchumo

Zambia: H.E. Mr. Love Mtesa

Mrs. M. G. B. Chigaga

B. British Parliament

Mr. Richard Caborn

Mr. Andrew Faulds

Lord Hatch

Mr. Robert Hughes

Mr. Chris Russel

C. European Parliament

Mr. Bugalho Edureso

Ms. Nadia Van Hamme

III. INDIVIDUALS

A. Special guests

Rev. Frank Chikane, General Secretary, South African Council of Churches

Mr. Dirk Coetzee

Mr. Max Coleman, Human Rights Commission of South Africa

Ms. Susan Collin, Centre for Intergroup Studies

Mr. Sipho Gabasche, Natal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee

Mr. Peter Harris, civil rights attorney coordinating presentation of evidence to the Goldstone Commission

Major General H. B. Holomisa, Chairman, Transkei Military Council

Ms. Paula McBride, Lawyers for Human Rights

Mr. Charles Mofokeng

Mr. Lebohang Motlung

Mr. Chris Orr, Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression

Mr. Tefo Raditapole, civil rights lawyer coordinating presentation of evidence on train attacks to the Goldstone Commission

Dr. Hilary Sapire

Ms. Lauren Segal, Project for the Study of Violence, University of Witwatersrand

B. Other individuals from South Africa

Mr. Gavin Cawthra

Mr. Paul Harris

Mr. Solly Kotane

Dr. Jonathan Leape

Mr. Themba Makhubo

Ms. June Masiya

Mr. Thaba Mofamane

Mr. Mathole Motshekga

Dr. Mpehle

Mr. Michael Mtuli

Ms. Alita Naughton

Ms. Thembi Nobadula

Mr. Chris van Noordwyk

Ms. Julia Scott

Mr. Mark Scott

Mr. Mahlomola Skhosana

Mr. Mark Sweet

Mr. Thobeka Thamage

Mr. Victor Thamage

Major Mbulelo Xaba

IV. INTERNATIONAL LAWYERS PANEL

Mr. Geoffrey Bindman

Mr. William Bowring

Ms. Kate Marcus

Ms. Paulette Pierson-Mathy

Mr. Geoffrey Roberston

V. INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Ms. Colleen Morna, Commonwealth Secretariat

Mr. Emmanuel Gasana, Organization of African Unity

VI. NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENTS

A. International non-governmental organizations

1. Amnesty International

Mr. Rob Beasley

Ms. Jane Cooper

Mr. Dan Jones

Ms. Eve Mitchell

Ms. Mary Rayner

Ms. Kay Snowden

2. International Federation of Human Rights

Mr. Michael Ellman

3. International Alert

Mr. Andy Carl

Mr. Mark Curnin

4. International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

Mr. Khemraze Cunniah

5. World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa

Mr. Abdul Minty

6. World Council of Churches

Rev. Barney Pityana

B. Anti-apartheid movements, religious and other organizations

Belgium

Mr. C. M. Bax, APRODEV

Mr. Alain Carrier, Comité contre le colonialisme et l'apartheid

Ms. Thérèse de Muynck, AKZA

Denmark

Ms. Lotte Lund, Sydafrika Kontact

Mr. Michel van den Heuvel, IBIS

France

Ms. Jacqueline Derens, Rencontre nationale contre l'apartheid

Mr. Pierre Derens, Rencontre nationale contre l'apartheid

Germany

Mr. Erich Beining, Terre des Hommes

Rt. Rev. Dr. Heinz Joachim Held, Evangelical Church

Ms. Ursula Merk, Medico International

Mr. Peter Schröder, Anti-Apartheid Bewegung

Greece

Ms. Eugenia Papamakariou, Greek Committee for International Democratic Solidarity

Ireland

Rev. T. P. McCaughey, Anti-Apartheid Movement

Italy

Ms. Laura Carlodalatri, Associazone Italiana contro l'Apartheid

Mr. Luca de Fraia, Associazone Italiana contro l'Apartheid

Japan

Ms. Yoshiko Inagaki, Anti-Apartheid Committee

Mr. Akira Kusuhara, Anti-Apartheid Committee

Netherlands

Mr. Jan Verhage, Interchurch Organization on Development Aid

Rev. Dr. Jan van Butselaar, Netherlands Missionary Council

Norway

Ms. Eva Hyge, Council for Southern Africa

Ms. Ellinor Kolstad, Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions

Sweden

Ms. Kerstin Bjurman-Moalosi, Africa Groups

Ms. Annika Forsberg, Isolate South Africa Committee

Ms. Birgit Jodahl, Africa Groups

Ms. Anne-Marie Kihlbergh, Africa Groups

Mr. Solomon Pelham, Africa Groups

Switzerland

Ms. Nelly Brandl, Anti-Apartheid Movement

Mr. Mathias Klemn, Anti-Apartheid Movement

Mr. Siro Petruzzella, Anti-Apartheid Movement

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Mr. Mark Adams, Southern Africa Coalition (Merseyside)

Mr. Colin Adkins, Manufacturing Science Finance

Ms. Shelagh Allen, Kairos

Ms. Florence Assie, National Peace Council

Right Rev. Simon Barrington-Ward, Southern Africa Coalition

Mr. Nigel Bellamy, National Union of Civil and Public Servants

Ms. Cindy Berman, Christian Aid

Mr. Rodney Bickerstaffe, National Union of Public Employees

Mr. P. Bond, Transport and General Workers Union

Councillor Peter Brayshaw, Mozambique/Angola Committee

Ms. Victoria Brittain, South Africa - The Imprisoned Society

Ms. Mary Brogan, National Board of Catholic Women

Mr. Butler, Amalgamated Engineering Union

Rev. David Cambell, Society of Saint John the Evangelist

Mr. Shalom Charikar, Jews Against Apartheid

Councillor Tim Collins, Avon County Council

Mr. David Craine, End Loans To South Africa

Mr. Ken Gill, Manufacturing Science Finance

Mr. Ross Grant, Christian Aid

Ms. Farzana Hakim, National Union of Students

Councillor Bill Hanley, Harlow Council

Mr. Malcom Harper, United Nations Association

Ms. Alison Harvey, Christian Fellowship Trust

Ms. Mary Hufford, National Union of Teachers

Ms. Sheila Hughes, Mozambique Information Office

Mr. Brian Hurwitz, Lawyers against Apartheid

Canon Eric James, Christian Action

Mr. Desmond John, Wolverhampton Metropolitan Borough Council

Ms. Doreen Joslin, Anti-Apartheid Movement (north-east of England)

Mr. Rashid Kareh, United Nations Association

Mr. Reg Kelly, National Communications Union

Ms. Ethel de Keyser, British Defence and Aid Fund

Mr. Steve Kibble, Catholic Institute for International Relations

Mr. Martin Kingston, Morgan Grenfell International

Ms. Glenys Kinnock, Bishop Ambrose Reeves Trust

Special Apostle Philip Kyei, Council of African and Afrocaribbean Churches

Mr. G. Laird, Amalgamated Engineering Union

Ms. Margaret Legum, Iona Community

Mr. Ian Linden, Catholic Institute for International Relations

Mr. Stephen Lloyd, CAFOD

Mr. George Lobo, Anti-Apartheid Movement Trade Union Committee

Ms. Suzanne Long, United Nations Association

Ms. Alison Mallalieu, National Westminster Bank

Mr. John McFadden, National Association of Local Government Officers

Ms. Claire McMaster, Southern Africa - The Imprisoned Society

Councillor Khan Moghal, Manchester City Council

Mr. Clive Nelson, Southern Africa - The Imprisoned Society

Mr. Ian Parkins, National Westminster Bank

Ms. Maggie Paterson, Catholic Institute for International Relations

Ms. Persad, Amalgamated Engineering Union

Rev. Arthur Phalo, Society of Saint John the Evangelist

Ms. Vella Pillay, Anti-Apartheid Movement

Mr. Jackie Reeve, CAFOD

Rev. Paul Renshaw, Council of Churches in Britain and Ireland

Councillor Nirmal Roy, London Borough of Camden

Mr. Val Rowling, Quaker Peace and Service

Mr. Tim Sanders, Anti-Apartheid Movement (Chilterns Regional Committee)

Mr. Andre Schott, City of London Anti-Apartheid Group

Mr. Paul Spray, Christian Aid

Ms. Hannah Stanton, Anti-Apartheid Movement (London Committee)

Ms. Margaret Stanton, Anti-Apartheid Movement (Chilterns Regional Committee)

Ms. Fannie Storr, United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

Mr. Mike Terry, Anti-Apartheid Movement

Councillor Randolf Thompson, Wolverhampton Metropolitan Borough Council

Mr. Roy Trivedy, Labour Party

Ms. Gwenda Thompson, Presbyterian Chruch of Wales

Ms. Ingrid Uys, South Africa Foundation

Mr. Marc Wadsworth, Anti-Racist Alliance

Mr. Geoff Walker, Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers

Mr. Michael Walsh, Trade Union Congress

Councillor R. Ward, Wolverhampton Metropolitan Borough Council

Mr. Glenroy Watson, Anti-Apartheid Movement

Ms. Pauline Webb, Anti-Apartheid Movement

Ms. Cat Wiener, City of London Anti-Apartheid Group

Mr. Martin Wilkinson, Quaker Peace and Service

Rev. William Whiffen, Christian Ethical Investment Group

Ms. Jane Winder, One World Action

Mr. Dillon Woods, British Defence and Aid Fund

United States of America

Mr. Jim Cason, American Committee of Africa

VII. UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT

A. Centre Against Apartheid

Mr. Johan Nordenfelt, Director

Ms. Corinne Momal

B. Department of Public Information

Ms. Marian Houk

Annex III

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

A. Reports

1. Second interim report of the Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation

2. "South Africa: State of Fear", Amnesty International, 1992

3. "Agenda for Peace: An Independent Survey of the Violence in South Africa", the International Commission of Jurists, 1992

4. "South Africa's Police: From police State to democratic policing?", Catholic Institute for Internatinal Relations, 1992

5. "Blood on the tracks", Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression, 1992

6. "Fortresses of Fear", Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression, 1992

7. "Political Violence in South Africa", Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, 1992

B. Written submissions to the Hearing

1. "Transkei Government", input by Major General H. B. Holomisa, Chairman of the Transkei Military Council

2. "Political violence in South Africa: an overview of two years of destabilisation, July 1990 to June 1992", presented by Mr. Max Coleman, Human Rights Commission of South Africa

3. "Summary of peace initiatives in Natal by COSATU/UDF/ANC" and "Obstacles in the peace process in Natal", presented by Mr. Sipho Gabasche, Natal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee

4. "Hostels", presented by Mr. Chris Orr, Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression

5. "Violence on rail commuters", presented by Mr. Tefo Raditapole

6. Statement by Mr. Lebogang Motloung, special witness on attacks on rail commuters

7. Statement on efforts to end the political violence in South Africa by the Rev. Frank Chikane, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches

C. Other documents

1. The National Peace Accord, September 1991

2. Memorandum to the Goldstone Commission, Lawyers for Human Rights, March 1992

3. Briefing on political assassinations in the 1990s, Human Rights Commission, May 1992

4. Evidence on the reef violence; tribal war or total strategy? presented by the Human Rights Commission and the Community Agency for Social Enquiry to the International Commission of Jurists, March 1992

5. Memorandum to the State President, South African Council of Churches, May 1992

6. Special briefing on massacres, Human Rights Commission, June 1992

7. "The human face of violence: hostels dwellers speak", Project for the Study of Violence, 1991

8. Memorandum on efforts to prevent the Boipatong massacre, lawyers representing the Vaal Council of Churches, June 1992

9. Statement read by Mr. Justice Goldstone at the Commission's Preliminary Hearing into the Boipatong massacre, 6 July 1992

10. Resolution on South Africa, Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, Dakar, June 1992

UNITED
NATIONS

A

General Assembly

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28 August 1992

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SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

REPORT ON THE CONSULTATIONS WITH UNITED STATES AND CANADIAN ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENTS AND OTHER NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED, HELD AT UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS, NEW YORK, ON 29 AND 30 JUNE 1992

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INTRODUCTION

1. In paragraph 2 of its resolution 46/79 B of 13 December 1991, the General Assembly authorized the Special Committee against Apartheid, in accordance with its mandate as the focal point for the international campaign against apartheid, to continue mobilizing international action through, inter alia, liaison and consultations with Governments, inter-governmental organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and relevant groups and individuals, in support of the political process towards the establishment of a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

2. In accordance with these provisions, the Special Committee included in its programme of work for 1992 a one and a half day session of consultations in New York on 29 and 30 June 1992 with United States and Canadian anti-apartheid movements and NGOs concerned.

3. Its objectives were:

(a) To afford anti-apartheid movements and other NGOs concerned in North America an opportunity to develop a new approach to their work during the transitional period and beyond;

(b) To identify relevant issues and programmes of action, inter alia, to promote the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on South Africa, to foster constitutional change, strengthen the civil society in South Africa and to address critical socio-economic inequities resulting from decades of apartheid.

I. AGENDA AND PROCEDURE

4. These consultations were opened on 29 June 1992 and chaired by Mr. Jayaraj Acharya (Nepal), Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid. Following the opening statement, the work of the consultations were conducted in informal discussion sessions.

5. Under the item on "Recent developments in South Africa and the international response", the representatives of the national liberation movements of South Africa, Mr. Kingsley Makhubela of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and Mr. S. E. M. Pheko of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) made introductory statements.

6. Under the item on "Prospects for democratic change in South Africa: role of South Africans and North-American anti-apartheid movements and other NGOs", presentations were made by Mr. Allen Cook of the Canada-South Africa Cooperation; Mr. Jim Cason of the American Committee on Africa and Ms. Imani Countess of the Washington Office on Africa.

7. With regard to "Elements of a programme of action", presentations for this topic were made by Mr. James Baker, representative of the Department for Humanitarian Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat; Ms. Eve Thomson of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights; Mr. Nesbit Crutchfield of the Bay Area Anti-Apartheid Network; and Ms. Nancy Muirhead of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

8. At the end of the deliberations, the Chairman made concluding remarks that, inter alia, summarized views expressed during the proceedings (see annex I to the present report).

II. PARTICIPANTS

9. The Special Committee against Apartheid was represented by its Acting Chairman, Mr. Jayaraj Acharya (Nepal) and by Mr. S. K. Goel (India).

10. Other participants included representatives of ANC and PAC, a representative of the Department for Humanitarian Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat as well as representatives of 20 anti-apartheid movements, non-governmental organizations and foundations from North America (see annex II to the present report).

III. DOCUMENTATION

11. A background paper containing the concluding remarks made by the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid at the closing session of the Seminar on "South Africa's Socio-Economic Problems: Future Role of the United Nations in Helping Address Them" was circulated for the consultations (see annex I to the present report).

IV. SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

12. Because participants came from two diverse groups representing those engaged in promoting anti-apartheid campaigns and those involved in promoting and providing assistance to disadvantaged South Africans, two distinct trends emerged from the discussions, namely, the need to maintain some form of pressure on the South African Government and the need to provide humanitarian assistance to the victims of apartheid.

A. Pressure

13. While acknowledging the positive changes that had taken place in South Africa since 1990, participants agreed that since agreement on transitional measures and, in particular, on the establishment of an interim government had not yet been reached, it was imperative for the international community to maintain some form of pressure against the South African Government. In that

connection, they recommended the maintenance of those measures that had not yet been lifted, such as financial sanctions and the arms and oil embargoes.

14. Participants expressed grave concern over the escalating wave of violence and, in particular, the role of the security forces in fomenting and/or perpetrating the violence. Several suggestions were made with regard to measures that could be taken by the international community to assist in stopping the violence. The United Nations and other intergovernmental organizations such as the European Community and the Commonwealth were called upon to send monitors to South Africa to monitor the situation.

15. With regard to action by NGOs, the following suggestions were made, that NGOs should: persuade their Governments to put pressure on the South African Government to stop the violence; in the light of the escalating violence and the impasse in the negotiation process, review the lifting of the cultural and sports boycotts; endorse demands of the anti-apartheid forces for the constituent assembly; initiate public campaigns aimed at dispelling the myth that apartheid was over; organize mass demonstrations and protest against the ongoing violence; initiate public campaigns to send letters to President de Klerk demanding that he stop the violence and sanction those security forces and police implicated in violent acts against the public; and organize mass demonstrations in support of the action campaigns planned for 3 to 9 August by the anti-apartheid forces in South Africa.

16. United States NGOs were asked to persuade their local leaders to support legislation 301 under consideration in the United States Congress and requiring the United States Government, inter alia, to denounce publicly the ongoing violence in South Africa. Some participants suggested that the United States Government consider reinstating sanctions against South Africa. In addition, participants agreed on the need for NGOs to monitor the implementation of the remaining sanctions against South Africa.

B. Humanitarian assistance

17. Participants agreed that there was a need to increase and expand humanitarian assistance to the disadvantaged sections of the South African population, in particular, the rural population. Until an interim Government was in place, it was generally agreed that such assistance should be channeled mainly through community-based NGOs in South Africa. With regard to how best to extend that assistance, it was proposed that American and Canadian NGOs assist in building the capacity of South African NGOs; assist local projects to switch from resistance mode to development mode; consult with South African community leaders before launching the development projects; promote the twinning of cities, townships and labour unions between North Americans and South Africans; and lobby North American companies to provide humanitarian assistance to the victims of apartheid.

18. Despite those general agreements, there were several areas of concern that distinguished the two groups from each other. Some organizations

involved in anti-apartheid campaigns felt that it was premature for NGOs to engage in development projects in South Africa. They also pointed out that NGOs did not have funds for such projects. Concern was also expressed on the impact of assistance being currently extended to South Africa. It was feared that some organizations and agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) might impose on South Africa development models that would worsen the existing socio-economic imbalances. In that connection, it was suggested that NGOs monitor what kind of assistance was being given to South Africa and how that assistance was applied to ensure that it did not hurt the already disadvantaged sectors of the population.

19. In order to ensure maximum and effective assistance, participants agreed on the need for coordination and networking among NGOs. It was suggested that NGOs make it a practice to exchange information on their activities and on what was going on in South Africa as well as to desist from engaging in unnecessary competition among themselves as this tended to reduce their effectiveness. Also, NGOs were urged to strive to promote unity among the victims of apartheid.

Annex I

CONCLUDING REMARKS BY H.E. MR. JAYARAJ ACHARYA (NEPAL), ACTING CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

We have now come to the end of our consultations, which have been, by most accounts, both timely and fruitful.

We have been very priviledged to have had so many prominent leaders and representatives of major anti-apartheid movements, church and labour organizations, lawyers' associations and foundations at this meeting, which assumed a greater urgency and significance in the wake of the Boitopong massacre.

The exchange of information and views that you have had with the Special Committee against Apartheid and among yourselves in the past day and half, the suggestions and proposals for action that you have made for individual and collective action, will no doubt have a positive impact on our respective programmes of work.

Our deliberations have also clearly demonstrated the need for North American anti-apartheid movements, which have already given much of themselves, to regroup and continue to mobilize their constituencies so as to dispel the erroneous notion that apartheid is dead and to prod their Governments into unwavering and effective support for the total and peaceful elimination of apartheid, as described in the United Nations Declaration on South Africa adopted by consensus by the General Assembly in December 1989.

The Declaration provides guidelines and principles for the negotiated settlement of the conflict in South Africa that are just as valid today as when they were adopted in 1989.

The continued politically motivated violence in South Africa with the reported alarming involvement of elements of the police and security forces and their surrogates, the stalled negotiation process, the test of wills engaged among various parties and organizations within the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) and outside, pose a new challenge to the international community that must not remain unanswered.

As several participants observed, it is encouraging that the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the European Community, the Commonwealth and the United Nations are now looking into ways and means of addressing the critical and dramatic political developments confronting South Africa today.

To many participants, addressing critical political issues that stand in the way of a negotiated settlement in the near future remains an urgent task for all anti-apartheid forces inside South Africa and outside. But they equally agree that the need to redress the huge socio-economic imbalances resulting from decades of apartheid should not be lost sight of, as it will

determine ultimately whether the experiment of a non-racial and democratic South Africa will succeed or not.

In this connection, it was further emphasized that unity of purpose and unity in action was essential in these confusing and troubling times.

Based on its assessment of the complexities of the South African realities, the Special Committee against Apartheid has always cautioned against hasty conclusions about the irreversible character of political change in South Africa. It has accordingly advocated a two-track policy of pressure on the South African authorities and humanitarian, legal, educational, relief and other forms of assistance to victims and opponents of apartheid.

This policy is once more vindicated.

In conclusion, I would like, on behalf of the Special Committee against Apartheid, to pay tribute to the United States and Canadian anti-apartheid movements for their dedication and relentless campaigns to mobilize their constituencies and prod their Governments in support of the total elimination of apartheid policies and practices. Without their sustained and remarkable effort at the local, State and federal levels, much of what has been achieved in the international campaign against apartheid would not have been possible.

I would like also to thank the private foundations that have joined us for their valuable contributions to our deliberations and to their commitment in addressing some of the huge socio-economic disparities resulting from decades of apartheid, in strengthening civil society in South Africa, in promoting a culture of human rights and in sponsoring important projects in the field of public administration, education, housing and public health in South Africa. We hope, when the time comes, possibly with the establishment of an interim Government, that they will assist in inducing the private sector to promote community development in South Africa as well as public interest and donor funding on South Africa-related matters.

Annex II

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

A. UNITED NATIONS

1.	Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid	H.E. Mr. Jayaraj ACHARYA (Nepal)
2.	Member of the Special Committee against Apartheid	Mr. S. K. GOEL (India)
3.	United Nations Centre against Apartheid	Mr. N. A. ABROUS, Asistant Director

B. LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

4.	African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)	Mr. Kingsley MAKHUBEKA, Deputy Representative to the United Nations
5.	Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)	Mr. S. E. M. PHEKO, Representative to the United Nations

C. NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

6.	American Association of Jurists, New York	Ms. Deborah A. JACKSON, Vice-President
7.	American Committee on Africa, New York	Mr. Jim CASON, Associate Director Mr. Adotei AKWEI, Research Director Mr. David SCOTT, Vice President
8.	American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	Mr. Jerry HERMAN, Chairman
9.	American-South African Peoples' Friendship (ASAPFA)	Mr. B. JORDAN
10.	Bay Area Anti-Apartheid Network, Oakland, California	Mr. Nesbit CRUTCHFIELD, Chairperson Ms. Myesha JENKINS
11.	Canada-South Africa Cooperation, Ottawa, Canada	Mr. Allen COOK, Executive Director

12.	Committee against Racism, Calgary, Alberta	Rev. George MILLARD, Chairperson
13.	Educators against Apartheid and Racism, Teaneck, New Jersey	Ms. Paula BOWER, Chairperson
14.	Ford Foundation, New York	Mr. Elliot DAWES, Consultant Ms. Barbara MURPHY-WARRINGTON, Legal Department
15.	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, New York	Ms. Pia BUNGARTEN, Coordinator
16.	Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, New York	Ms. Mirtille ROMEGIALLI, Head of Office
17.	Get Ahead Foundation USA, Washington, D.C.	Mr. Wayne FREDERICKS, Secretary Mr. Joseph MCMAHON, Exec. Director
18.	Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, New York	Ms. Donna KATZIN, Executive Director
19.	Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law (SA), Washington, D.C.	Ms. Eve THOMSON, Member
20.	Manitoba Coalition against Racism and Apartheid, Winnipeg, Manitoba	Mr. Helmut-Harry LOEWEN, Chairperson
21.	National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA, African Office, New York	Mr. Willis LOGAN, Africa Office
22.	Rockefeller Brothers Fund, New York	Ms. Nancy L. MUIRHEAD
23.	Task Forces on Churches and Corporate Responsibility, Toronto, Ontario	Ms. Renate PRATT, Director
24.	Washington Office on Africa, Washington, D.C.	Ms. Imani COUNTESS, Acting Director
25.	World Council of Churches, New York	Mr. Donald BLACK, Interim Director

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A

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SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST
APARTHEID

MESSAGES RECEIVED ON THE OCCASION OF THE INTERNATIONAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE OF WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA

(Issued in accordance with a decision taken by the Special Committee at its 659th meeting, on 10 August 1992)

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I. MESSAGES FROM MEMBER STATES

BOLIVIA

Message from the Government of Bolivia

[Original: Spanish]

It is my pleasure to inform you of the solidarity of the constitutional Government of Bolivia with your Special Committee, and to convey to you its appreciation of the efforts being made by the Committee, under your distinguished chairmanship, in promoting the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa, to be observed on 10 August 1992.

Having regard to our country's traditional respect for human rights in the broadest sense of the term, we once again affirm, on behalf of the Government and people of Bolivia, our total and unwavering support for the international legal instruments which establish that apartheid is a discriminatory practice and an affront to human dignity and to the human conscience.

BRAZIL

Message from the Government of Brazil

[Original: English]

On the occasion of the observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa, the Brazilian Government reiterates its hope that the process of dismantling the apartheid system will be accelerated and strengthened, leading to the establishment of a democratic, non-racial society in a united South Africa, where all men and women are finally recognized as equal irrespective of their race.

The Government and the people of Brazil have expressed their deepest concern over the recent episodes of violence in South African Black townships, which counted among their innocent victims many women and children. Besides representing crimes of a most hideous nature, those actions also put at risk the process of negotiation aimed at the complete abolition of apartheid.

The Brazilian Government hopes that the conditions for the resumption of the dialogue among the various parties in South Africa will be soon achieved and that negotiations will move forward smoothly and quickly. It also recognizes the fundamental role to be played by South African women - who have long endured the hardship and suffering which result from discriminatory practices - both in the discussions and in the establishment of a non-discriminatory society in that South Atlantic State.

COLOMBIA

Message from Ms. Noemí Sanín de Rubio, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia

[Original: Spanish]

On the occasion of the observance, on 10 August 1992, of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa, I wish once again to declare the solidarity of the Government of Colombia with the demonstrations of protest by South African women against the laws promulgated by the Government of that country, demonstrations that have been taking place for the past 36 years.

The Government of Colombia has repudiated apartheid and has fought for the abolition of all forms of racial discrimination in that country, through strict application of all decisions adopted by the United Nations.

I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the Special Committee against Apartheid on its intensive work during recent years, work which, we trust, will serve to bring about peace in a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa.

CUBA

Message from Mr. Ricardo Alarcón de Quesada, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba

[Original: Spanish]

The observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa is a date of special significance, particularly at this time, when we are witnessing an upsurge of generalized violence which the South African authorities could prevent if they had the political will to do so.

We condemn the attempts to prolong the hegemony and domination of the white minority, and we appeal to the United Nations, to Governments and to international public opinion to exert greater pressure on the Government of South Africa with a view to halting the violence directed against the black population.

The struggle of the democratic South African forces has been a fundamental factor in the efforts to bring about a general dismantling of apartheid. We note with satisfaction that racist laws which formed part of the legal apparatus supporting the regime have been repealed, thereby creating conditions for future agreements between both parties that will make it possible to do away with the anti-democratic and racist constitution which is preventing the majority of the population from exercising its civil rights to the full.

South African women have played an active role in their people's unceasing struggle to achieve a united, democratic and multiracial South Africa, winning the respect and admiration of all nations of the world, which today pay them a well-deserved tribute.

Once again we convey to the African people, and particularly to the women, my country's message of solidarity with their struggle finally to eliminate the shameful system of apartheid from the face of the earth.

GHANA

Message from H.E. Flt.-Lt. J. J. Rawlings, Head of State and Chairman of the Provisional National Defence Council of Ghana

[Original: English]

On this solemn occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa, I wish, on behalf of the people and Government of Ghana and on my own behalf, to pay a special tribute to you and the members of the Special Committee against Apartheid for the tireless efforts you have made and continue to make to sensitize the international community to the evils of apartheid and the plight of the defenceless women and children in South Africa who have borne the brunt of the heinous system of apartheid in that country.

As we observe this Day, the people and Government of Ghana wish to salute the memory of those gallant women of South Africa who, 36 years ago today, defied the oppressive and inhuman machinery of apartheid and publicly demonstrated their principled objection to and abhorrence of the pass laws. Today, although the specific legislation regulating the pass book system has been abolished, the deprivation and segregation which those books signified, still persist in South Africa. The courage and bravery of the women of South Africa in resisting oppression to ensure that their children may live in dignity in their land of birth needs our collective commendation and support. It is indeed to their eternal credit that the struggle has now reached such a historic landmark where an irreversible change looms high on the horizon.

As we celebrate this day, therefore, we call on the international community to rededicate itself to the self-evident truth that the struggle of the women in South Africa is part of the struggle to ensure peace and justice among the nations and peoples of the world.

The people and Government of Ghana wish, on this occasion, once again to salute the gallant women of South Africa in their struggle against racial intolerance and apartheid. We also reaffirm our unflinching support for the noble efforts of the Special Committee against Apartheid and the entire United Nations system as well as for their inspiring commitment to the creation of a non-racial and democratic society in South Africa.

GUINEA

Message from H.E. General Lansana Conte, President of Guinea

[Original: French]

On the occasion of the observance of the historic date of 9 August, it is my pleasant duty to convey to you, on behalf of the people of Guinea, our total solidarity with the struggle of the women in South Africa and to pay a further well-deserved tribute to the thousands of women from all parts of that country who have courageously challenged the edifice of apartheid since 1956.

At this time, when a resurgence of violence continues increasingly to affect the situation of vulnerable groups, including women and children, while posing a serious obstacle to the process of negotiation aimed at establishing a non-racial and democratic society, I remain convinced that the international community must make a positive contribution for the purpose of bringing an early end to apartheid, in accordance with Security Council resolution 765 (1992).

In the attainment of that noble objective, rest assured that my country, in its capacity as a member of the Special Committee against Apartheid, will spare no effort to honour its international commitments with a view to finally securing the liberation of the African continent.

GUYANA

Message from the Government of Guyana

[Original: English]

On this occasion a year ago, the Government of Guyana expressed the hope that the remaining apartheid forms and practices would finally go without the further shedding of innocent blood, remarking that for too long the unnecessary wastage of life and limb has gone on.

Unfortunately, that hope was not realized in the succeeding months which saw instead the horrendous escalation of violence culminating in the disgraceful Boipatong massacre on 17 June 1992. The new day which seemed to beckon just one year ago is now more removed and mothers and daughters of South Africa have had to continue witnessing the senseless destruction of their offspring.

Guyana is nevertheless firmly convinced that the aspirations of the African majority will, in the not-too-distant future, be realized and pledges unstinting support to the women of South Africa whose mission it is to see their goal accomplished.

Reverses may be mere stepping-stones to final victory.

MALAYSIA

Message from Mr. Dato' Abdullah Haji Ahmad Badawi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Malaysia

[Original: English]

On the occasion of the solemn meeting in observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa, the people and Government of Malaysia wish to salute the women of South Africa who have contributed tirelessly to remove apartheid and create a just, non-racial and democratic society.

Malaysia acknowledges the positive developments that have taken place in South Africa. However, while the legal pillars of apartheid have been abolished, the deep-rooted consequences of racial discrimination are evident in the socio-economic inequities that persist. The South African Administration must address these inequities, a legacy of the apartheid years, if there is to be a just and truly democratic society. Earnest efforts must be made to bring the Black community to an acceptable level of socio-economic development.

The Government of Malaysia is gravely concerned over implications of the Boipatong massacre and the unstable situation in South Africa. We call upon all parties concerned not to allow the progress achieved thus far to be sacrificed away by communal violence or actions of forces opposed to change. The urgent task is to put an end to the violence and to work for the resumption of constitutional negotiations.

Malaysia still believes that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) remains the viable mechanism for negotiations on South Africa's future provided that the South African Administration takes clear action effectively to curb violence and intimidation. In this regard, we wish to appeal to the Black people of South Africa to unite in solidarity of purpose, notwithstanding differences of affiliations so as to ensure that the goal of instituting a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa is achieved. Malaysia joins the international community in reaffirming our commitment to support the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa until the system of apartheid and its legacies are removed.

Today, as we celebrate the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa, the Government and people of Malaysia commend the women of South Africa for their determination and perseverance and the sacrifices that they have made in defence of human dignity and freedom. We believe that the day will come, when a free, united, democratic, and non-racial South Africa will take its rightful place in the community of nations.

NICARAGUA

Message from H.E. Ms. Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, President of Nicaragua

[Original: Spanish]

On the occasion of the observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa, I wish, on behalf of the people and Government of Nicaragua, to express our support for the struggle to secure respect for the rights of women in South Africa.

Likewise, conscious of the important role of women in society, we call upon the international community and the United Nations system to support all efforts made with a view to securing the eradication of the poverty, social injustice and violence inflicted upon women.

It is our fervent wish that South African women may, in a climate of peace and understanding, succeed in winning back their rights and contributing to the general welfare and to the peace and development of their country and of the rest of the world.

NIGERIA

Message from H.E. General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, President and Commander-in-Chief of Nigeria

[Original: English]

On behalf of the Government and people of Nigeria and on my own behalf, I wish to congratulate warmly your Committee for keeping the question of apartheid alive at the most important international forum. Indeed, your Committee's activities have, over the years, sensitized the international community's resolve to act collectively for the purpose of eradicating apartheid and other forms of discrimination in southern Africa and especially inside South Africa.

Today, your Committee meets once again to honour and express international solidarity with the heroic struggle of the women of South Africa. The women folk in South Africa have truly risen to the occasion. Their persistent support and determination to ensure a fairer society where their children can live harmoniously in an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity deserves commendation. The people of Nigeria salute them for this heroic struggle.

Your Committee is meeting this year at a time when negotiations for a democratic South Africa have stalled. Added to this, the environment has been significantly poisoned by the persistence of violence and the inability of the security forces to take firm actions against the perpetrators. It is our hope

that the Secretary-General's recent efforts authorized by the Security Council will go a long way in bringing peace to South Africa so that all parties to the conflict can return to the negotiating table. It is our hope that this year's solidarity meeting would be the last before power is transferred to the people of South Africa.

We salute, once again, the efforts of the South African women in the struggle to liberate their country and to bring pride to their gender.

PAKISTAN

Message from H.E. Mr. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, Prime Minister of Pakistan

[Original: English]

The people and Government of Pakistan join the world community in commemorating the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa. On this day, we pay homage to the brave women who protested gallantly 36 years ago against South Africa's policies of apartheid, in particular, the unfair pass laws. This bold stand has, over the years, encouraged the women and other disadvantaged groups in South Africa to continue their heroic struggle against the unjust laws of apartheid and put up a just fight for the attainment of their basic human rights.

Pakistan has always been a staunch supporter of the anti-apartheid movement. The racial segregation perpetrated by that inhuman system was not only against the basic tenets of Islam, but also ran counter to all norms of civilized behaviour. We believe that the international pressure against the Pretoria regime should be continued until the positive changes introduced in the last two years become irreversible, and the struggle of the South African people for equality, justice and majority rule is finally crowned with success.

Pakistan also regards the escalating violence in South Africa as a threat to peace and the negotiating process. The Government of Pakistan supports the Security Council's call to the South African authorities to take immediate measures to end the violence and bring to justice those responsible for the Boipatong incident. We also support the appointment of the special envoy of the Secretary-General to find ways for the resumption of the negotiations on the future constitution of South Africa.

I am confident that the day is not far when the noble struggle of the South African women and other brave people of South Africa to remove the last remnants of apartheid and achieve majority rule would bear fruit.

PERU

Message from Mr. Oscar de la Puente Raygada, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Peru

[Original: Spanish]

On this International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa, the Government of Peru, in accordance with the provisions of its political constitution which rejects all forms of discrimination, wishes to renew its support for the process leading to the final eradication of the shameful system of apartheid, and to express its solidarity with the cause of South African women seeking to build a just and democratic society for future generations.

The people and Government of Peru are following with attention and hope the evolution of the current political process in South Africa, and it is their earnest wish that, through negotiation and dialogue, the obstacles that continue to stand in the way of national reconciliation in South Africa may be overcome.

THAILAND

Message from Mr. Arsa Sarasin, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand

[Original: English]

On this solemn occasion to commemorate the thirty-sixth anniversary of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa, I wish to reiterate, on behalf of the Government and people of Thailand, our solidarity with the South African women in their just struggle for fundamental equal rights and the complete elimination of apartheid.

Thailand would like to urge all the parties concerned to bring about an effective end to the conflicts in South Africa by peaceful means so that the constructive negotiations towards a political settlement may resume. Therefore, the prosperity of the new, democratic, non-racial and united South Africa will be realized soon.

I wish to reiterate once again our firm support for the just and noble cause of women in South Africa. I also wish them every success in their struggle for the elimination of apartheid and the achievement of a peaceful settlement in the new South Africa.

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Message from Mr. Ralph Maraj, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Trinidad and Tobago

[Original: English]

As the international community commemorates the eleventh anniversary of the observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa, the people of South Africa have yet again been plunged into a period of increased uncertainty and heightened instability. The June massacre at the Boipatong township, the latest in a series of recent massacres, has at least temporarily derailed the process of negotiations under way in South Africa. Trinidad and Tobago condemns in the strongest terms the tragic massacre at Boipatong and awaits early action by the Security Council to end the escalating violence and to assist in the resumption of effective negotiations.

Amid all the uncertainties and tests of courage and fortitude, the oppressed people of South Africa have remained hopeful and confident in their faith that a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa is no longer a distant dream, but an attainable reality. The women of South Africa have and continue to play a crucial role in the process of realizing that elusive goal and have therefore shared in the burdens and dangers of that undertaking.

The Government and people of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago join the international community in paying high tribute to the many South African women who have made the ultimate sacrifice for and who continue to contribute unselfishly to the struggle for dignity, justice and equality in their beloved country. In the current circumstances, just tribute fittingly can be paid to these women by focusing increased international attention on the need to assist the thousands of South Africans who have joined the ranks of the homeless, the tens of thousands who remain refugees, the male and female political prisoners who continue to languish in South African gaols and the millions who continue to be deprived of fundamental political rights and the basic social and economic amenities of life.

The convening on 15 July 1992 of an urgent meeting of the Security Council on the situation in South Africa testifies to the recognition that the international community still has an ongoing responsibility to assist in the shaping of a new South Africa. In this connection, my Government believes it the duty of all Member States to be faithful to the provisions of the 1989 consensus Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, as well as to subsequent consensus resolutions of the General Assembly which addressed the issues of violence and the process of negotiations for a just society.

Trinidad and Tobago, in keeping with this position, will maintain its existing economic and military sanctions against South Africa until profound and irreversible changes are implemented in that country and would urge other

States to adopt a similar course of action if, together, we are to assist the men, women and children of South Africa in the achievement of their hard-fought objective of a peaceful, united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

VENEZUELA

Message from Mr. Fernando Ochoa Antich, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Venezuela

[Original: Spanish]

Venezuela today pays tribute to South African women for their valiant struggle and unceasing efforts to bring about a free, united and democratic South Africa and a better future for their children and their people.

Throughout the course of their participation in the struggle to attain democracy in South Africa, and in many cases as the head of a family, South African women have faced great challenges. Their enormous achievements and extraordinary sacrifices have won them the recognition of the international community.

The latest events in South Africa and the continuing violence are evidence of a situation which has yet to progress in accordance with expectations. An end to violence is a prerequisite for real progress in the negotiations aimed at achieving a united and democratic South Africa. We are convinced of the need to continue all efforts to resume negotiations on a Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) at the earliest opportunity, culminating in the drafting of a constitution embodying the equality of rights of all South Africans.

II. MESSAGES FROM INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

ALL-AFRICAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

[Original: English]

On this occasion, the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa, the All-African People's Revolutionary Party, its Central Committee and especially its women's wing, the All-African Women's Revolutionary Union, come before you standing with the African masses.

We come before you uncompromisingly, to stand with our people in their enduring and unrelenting commitment to service, sacrifice and suffering - towards the victorous cause of liberation. Uncompromisingly, we stand with our people, the sovereign protectors of their future. Uncompromisingly, we stand with the oppressed in their vigilant fight for self-determination. This fight is a human right which can only be measured by the people's ability to

harness all powers which control their lives and the means of control in their hands.

The All-African People's Revolutionary Party wants to thank our mothers; we want to thank our sisters; we want to thank our aunts and we want to thank our fathers, brothers and uncles who have toiled for generations to wrestle our future from the death grip of settler colonialism, which is still strangling our Mother Africa. We thank the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania for this invitation to speak before this body once again. For Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah always reminded us that as one inch of Africa remains in chains, all of Africa and her scattered children remain in chains. The All-African People's Revolutionary Party will be here every year and go anywhere demanded by the African revolution. And, we thank the Special Committee against Apartheid for their continuing support of people's rights, as represented by this forum.

This day has been set aside to highlight the contributions made by the women of Azania/South Africa in their fight to regain control of their lives. In order that we remain true to their testament, we must heed the lessons taught by the determination of our courageous mothers. Let us use this time to highlight some of those lessons.

On this occasion, it would be very easy to talk about individuals and individual accomplishments. However, individual accomplishments can be metered out as token gifts and Trojan horses. More importantly, as individuals are shaped by the aspirations of the people, it is the collective will of the people which is supreme. Therefore, we must measure all successes and failures by the development of the people, not by individual accomplishments. For example, when 20,000 women marched in 1956 against the pass laws they did not march as individuals. They marched as an organized collective, in unity. They did not march only against the pass laws but against a racist and inhuman system that legislated the passbook to regulate and limit the movement of the African masses. This same system has legislated the Internal Security Act, the Land Acts and limited employment opportunities. This same system wants to keep all the material, mineral, industrial and financial wealth in the hands of the minority settlers. This same system refuses to return the land to its owners. This same system seeks to destroy our people.

Today, when our daughters are raped and killed by mercenaries of the regime, we cannot individualize their torture. They are the victims of an illegal system which seeks to further destabilize the masses. When our children are rounded up by the security forces and detained with no notification to their parents, it is not the individual child that suffers, but generations of young people that do not know life without fear. When our husbands must labour at pennies a day, far from the love of their family, it is not the individual man that is lonely. It is the creation of broken families, by the millions, which will later be labelled unruly and dysfunctional. Mr. Chairman, African people have witnessed this truth of colonial oppression, time and time again. In 113 countries, where our people

have suffered in the servitude of imperialism and colonial exploitation, our children have been scarred, our mothers have been sacrificed and our fathers have been lost. Then, the world looks us in the face and tells us we are not ready, we are unworthy of controlling our lives.

The illegal regime continues to force the worst indignities of human kind on the people of Azania/South Africa. They are denied the right to life - to live as free men and women. They suffer the daily inhumanity of inadequate food and inadequate housing. Police harassment has been strengthened by the so-called security forces, that is, the South African Defense Force, Koevoet, Buffalo Battalion 32, the Askaris and Selous Scouts. And the regime desires to integrate these forces into its regular police! This is the reality of colonial occupation. This is a police state. In 1986, before the regime of reform, five of our people were murdered daily, on the average. Today our people are killed at a rate of 15 per day. As of 1991, it was reported that 1,094 political trials were to be held, for a total of 1,450 persons. There were 333 persons on death row. Tuberculosis and AIDS are beginning to ravage the population. We ask, where is the progress?

As the world debates the false starts orchestrated by the illegal South African regime, we must recognize the truth. This is not a chess game and our people's future is at stake. As southern Africa languishes in the chains of settler colonialism, the forward development of all of Africa is being stalled. The de Klerk regime masquerades in a cloak of reform but our people, African people, demand total liberation.

If history has determined, there is no freedom without the emancipation of women; if history has determined, freedom exemplified in the lives of the people will be measured by the status and the participation of the women; and, the women have demanded more than reform; then, the dismantling of settler colonialism demands more than reform.

The women of Azania/South Africa have spoken, "Apartheid cannot be reformed, it must be destroyed!". And, the destruction of apartheid demands that the illegal settler regime must go. The international community must follow the demands of the people, as the African masses refuse to allow the South African regime to bargain for its continued existence. The people have called for genuine liberation, self-determination, a total transformation of the society.

The problems of Azania/South Africa are not just the problems of apartheid. Apartheid represents a network of "laws" used to protect a voracious system feeding on the future of the people. The masses of the people in Azania/South Africa are victims of colonial aggression. If we were to ask our people to be satisfied with anything less than their complete liberation, then we would be spitting in the face of our mothers, grandmothers, sisters and aunts who fight everyday to raise their children and protect their families while labouring in the midst of an undeclared war of attrition. The international community, led by the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations, has a responsibility to the people who are

sovereign in their aspiration for freedom and self-determination. A non-racial, democratic state cannot be built on a garbage heap of lies, oppression, genocide and theft. The people have demanded a constituent assembly, elected from a common voters' role of a unified state. We challenge you to meet the test.

Today, we hail the African masses, led by our courageous mothers, who have fought standing toe-to-toe against settler colonial aggression. They are our nurturers, our protectors and our teachers. They are a source of power.

Victory to the people of Azania/South Africa!

As always, we stand ready for the revolution.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION

[Original: English]

The Women's International Democratic Federation respectfully observes this International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa. The proud march of 1956 reflected the determination of 20,000 Black and White women of South Africa to achieve dignity and justice. That march was prelude to the triumphant general strike called last week by the African National Congress and its allies in a unified thrust for a non-racial transitional administration and speedy elections for a duly elected constitutional Assembly.

The two-day protest, the largest in South African history, was supported by up to 90 per cent of the workers. It shut down businesses across South Africa and confirmed massive opposition to the de Klerk Government and unqualified support for Nelson Mandela's demand for an end to 300 years of White domination.

Women were prominent in the mass demonstrations of voteless Blacks at Johannesburg, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Port Elizabeth, East London and Bloemfontein in a week of actions involving up to 4 million Blacks demanding that Pretoria cede power to a non-racial interim government.

Women are always the poorest of the poor and the legacies of apartheid coupled with massive unemployment, pitiable health care, and inadequate housing systems, contribute to the absolute poverty and squalor in which so many urban and rural Blacks live. The pain of apartheid falls heavily on women and their children who live in segregated townships, squatter settlements or arid bantustans. The apartheid system has created a lost generation of idle youths, robbed of hope and education. Their situation adds to the despair and torment of their mothers and female relatives. The present violence which has claimed over 6,000 lives in the past two years has created "Widow Valleys" where women moan the loss of their husbands, lovers, sons and where often the women themselves are victims of killings, firebombings, assassinations, unlawful detentions, etc.

The deep distrust of the Black population for the security forces has been validated by the Waddington Report and the shocking findings of South Africa's leading pathologist, Dr. Jonathan Gluckman, whose post-mortem examinations of 200 people who died in custody, revealed that 90 per cent had been assaulted by the police.

The collapse of the 19 party constitutional talks brought about by de Klerk's intransigent insistence on maintaining a White minority veto; the escalating violence and the appalling Boipatong massacre galvanized the African National Congress, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and the South African Communist Party into a unified Mass Campaign for Democracy and Peace. That Campaign emphasizes an end to violence and the speedy resumption of meaningful negotiations leading to elections for a democratic constituent assembly.

The international community has also responded to the current crisis in South Africa. Security Council resolution 765 (1992), adopted on 16 July 1992 by a unanimous vote of 15 to none, emphasized the responsibility of the South African authorities to take all necessary measures to stop immediately the violence and to protect the life and property of all South Africans. Moreover, it urged the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative to seek ways to end political violence and restart negotiations. Cyrus Vance, the United Nations envoy, recently ended a 10-day fact-finding mission with political, church, trade union and business leaders.

The Federation sees an international monitoring group comprising representatives of the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the European Community as a viable body remaining in South Africa "until a solution is found" to the problem of violence.

The spirit of resistance embodied in the 1956 march of the South African women still waits for the birth of a democratic South Africa with one person, one vote, in a non-racial, non-sexist society. AMANDLA!

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

[Original: English]

The World Federation of Trade Unions wishes to congratulate the Special Committee for its leadership in keeping the issue of apartheid before the international community. But we also wish to express our outrage at the fact that it is still necessary to have such meetings.

The fact that today's meeting - called to salute the women of South Africa and to express our solidarity with their struggles - follows last week's historic events in South Africa, gives the international community the opportunity - and we would suggest, a mandate - to examine the progress made towards the total elimination of apartheid.

These events - a two-day general strike involving some 5 million workers and the march of 100,000 on the seat of government at Pretoria - have shown the depth of the determination of the people of South Africa that apartheid must go. They also show the breadth of public confidence enjoyed by the African National Congress (ANC), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP).

Thus the question: What can the international community do to speed the process towards the elimination of apartheid? And more to the point, what can and must be done to resume the CODESA [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] process?

For its part, the World Federation of Trade Unions unequivocally supports the demands of the ANC-COSATU-SACP alliance: an early (by 31 December 1992) convening of an interim government, elections to a constituent assembly on the basis of one person, one vote and an end to state-supported violence.

These are not pie-in-the-sky demands. On the contrary, they are consistent with the positions outlined in the December 1989 resolution of the General Assembly.

In a statement commemorating Soweto Day, the World Federation of Trade Unions warned: "The present deadlock of CODESA II plus the revelations of complicity at the highest level of Government in the continued violence aimed at destabilizing that process is cause for alarm. It should stand as a warning to the international community".

Although we make no claim of omniscience, the massacre of 47 people on 17 June at Boipatong, barely 24 hours after those remarks, points to their validity on 16 June - and to their validity on 10 August.

Thus, we again join with others in calling upon the international community to be firm in their commitment and to be resolute in accepting their responsibility to help bring an end to apartheid. To this end, we call for the reimposition of economic and political measures in order to bring Pretoria back to the negotiating table with meaningful proposals aimed at the creation of a democratic, unitary, non-racist, non-sexist state.

To do less would betray the very principles that underlie the Organization and would make a mockery of today's meeting.